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855 morning until about five in the afternoon without regular provision for
866 food. This does not mean that it is left entirely without food; but all it gets are the odd bits older children cede, more or less generously, when it begs or screams for them.

Again of course there are marked variations in children's experiences in this respect. There may be a solicitous older sister who can be spared from field work and who provides relatively good care, or there may be a grandmother who works less hard and frequently in the gardens. In any case, after a child has learned to walk, its disappointments with respect to feeding are increased, and simultaneously it loses the constant handling and support characteristic of the first stage of its life. That the acquisition of its first skill in the independent mastery of the outer
[155] world—namely, walking—should be associated with severe deprivation may well have marked repercussions in the realm of ego development.

862 To add to the strain of this period and to reinforce it, the weaning of the child may be hastened because another sibling is expected. Only rarely does one see a child of three or four still nursing, and when one does, it can be assumed that it is because no younger child has been born into the family. It is an exception for a mother to permit an older child to take the breast when she has a younger one to nurse. Weaning is done gradually and simply by pushing the child gently away from the breast. If the child is insistent it will perhaps be slapped. Should it still insist, it may be sent to live in the household of a kin, and "he forgets in two or three nights." It is considered desirable to have weaning completed at least a month before the next child is born. If another pregnancy does not occur, it is assumed that children gradually wean themselves. "They think of other foods and forget the breast."

862 In connection with weaning, a mother sometimes uses a mild form
865 of adult teasing, nursing a strange infant to arouse jealousy in her own growing child. For example, Padafan had almost entirely given up the breast when one day he saw his mother nursing the child of a kinswoman. He began to whimper and tried to climb up on her lap. Not until he had worked himself into a rage and had begun striking the infant, did the mother smilingly surrender the strange child and pick up Padafan to let him nurse. The adults are fully aware of infantile jealousy and they derive a mild amusement from it. Despite this, custom makes weaning as easy as possible for the child, and if it were not for its frequent association with the appearance of another sibling and for the cumulative effects of various other factors operating at this period, the weaning situation might well be considered nontraumatic. Food,

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the result that the young child can never establish a clear image of punishment for "being bad" or reward for "being good." It is just as likely as not to be rewarded for the "badness" of excessive crying.

TANTRUMS

From even such a brief description any child psychologist should be able to prognosticate one of the outstanding and striking forms of emotional expression in the early childhood of the Atimelanger — the temper tantrum. Rages are so consistent, so widespread, and of such long duration among young children that they were one of my first and most striking observations. A common cause of tantrums is desertion — more specifically the departure of the mother for the fields each morning.

For instance, one child, a little boy of approximately two years who was under observation over a period of nine months, had a violent rage every morning when his mother left. His paroxysms lasted from a few minutes to as many as twenty. He would begin by pursuing his mother; then as she outstripped him he would throw himself on the ground, roll back and forth, and often beat his head on the earth. His mother's reaction was typical in its inconsistency. On successive days I have noted her ignore him, return to comfort him, return to slap him, and return pretending to stay for the day, only to slip away when he had been diverted.

Very rarely is a reward for being good promised a child, and more rarely still is the promise kept. This means that children do not learn to place confidence in words. This, in turn, should slow down the learning process by reducing the use of language as a short cut to incentive and performance. Later in life, when the children are capable of performing real services, they are rewarded more frequently, but by then the reward is in the nature of an economic transaction and one in which the child has no bargaining power.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties of the person on whom the child depends for its gratifications, is found in a series of statements taken from Tilapada's autobiography. The naïve implications of her account of caring for Maliema, a younger sister, are perhaps more telling than the statements themselves.

"On the way [to the fields] Maliema cried a lot, so I put her down and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she was quiet. . . . When Maliema was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I was not angry with her, I would take her along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the

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855 small ones. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
865 cried to go places; she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry."

855 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
861 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
153 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child may be placated and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

855 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
865 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable rages may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my attention, although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or apparently hungry. The tantrums usually disappear before the child is five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages of seven and nine still had acute rages whenever they found themselves deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the evening meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of amused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
868 who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sudden surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few cases of constructive teaching, outside of purely physiological controls, that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
586 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
153 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Talfani, for instance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

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ternal uncle, to emphasize his point, picked up Talfani and started back 593
to his village with her. The father flew into a rage and the child was 586
fought over by the two men. When the father finally secured the child, 155
he held her tightly in his arms all morning. Talfani's care had been primarily entrusted to her maternal grandmother, and when the grandmother finally left with her brother, the child wept so insistently to go with her that the father, with obvious reluctance, finally surrendered the child.

There was a similar situation when Nicolas divorced his first wife, by whom he had two sons, one about five years old and the other approximately two and a half. The father had had very little contact with the children, since he was away most of the time. On the other hand, for an Alorese parent, the mother had been particularly indulgent and fond. At the time of the divorce there were days of violent and public recrimination between the parents, which ended finally in the surrender of both children to the father and the departure of the mother to a distant village, where she was to marry another man.

Obviously all children are not exposed to such potentially traumatic 155
and affectionally disorienting situations, but practically no child escapes being witness to such occurrences. In the autobiographies there are a number of anecdotes demonstrating the skill children develop in playing one parent off against the other. The result of all this must be that the child is robbed of a sense of security and stability by being deprived of the opportunity to form a pattern of stable relationships.

RESIDENCE

Mobility of residence is another factor that may contribute to a 341
child's sense of instability. During early childhood such a sense of insta- [155]
bility may begin to take form and it will be emphasized by later repetition. The autobiographies give the most graphic picture of constant moving from house to house, village to village, and village to field. It is true that these moves are always within a circumscribed orbit. The result may be that a person becomes familiar with a landscape rather than with a residence.

Alorese houses are perishable. A field house rarely lasts more than [342]
two seasons. A village house of the fala type may last five or six years, a lineage house (*kadang*) somewhat longer. No one place of residence is constantly occupied for any great length of time. Even within the yearly agricultural cycle a family is apt to move back and forth between a village house and a field house.

The child's escape from irksome home life by changes of residence 155

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155 and by the appeal to other kin is discussed in the next chapter. Mangma's autobiography is particularly rich in such material. The possible psychological repercussions of this mobility are patent. Neither persons nor houses are secure and stable. Furthermore, it is interesting to note in Chapter 12 on "Children's Drawings" that children seem to associate houses and persons.

CONCLUSIONS

Without wishing to overdraw the implications of the picture of early childhood in Atimelang, I see it as the period that inflicts hunger, desertion, and discomfort, even to the point of pain, on children who have at their disposal no mechanisms of defense or mastery, either physical or mental, by which they can deal adequately with the outer world. Rebellion and protest may not be the necessary concomitants of these frustrations, but when these are linked with inconsistency of discipline and when there is no system of rewards for "being good," nothing but vigorous emotional self-assertion is left as a mode of expression. When the child's sense of helplessness is further reinforced by contrast with a more favorable situation in infancy, and when the libidinal resources connected with erogenous zones have not been systematically repressed but on the contrary have been allowed free development, temper tantrums are the obvious device open to the child for achieving his ends.

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Chapter 5

Late Childhood: From Loincloth to Thoughts of Marriage

WHEN an Alorese child is given his loincloth, he has taken the first step toward adult status. This marks the beginning of late childhood, a period that lasts from the age of five or six years until adolescence. Children between these ages are called moku. At the beginning of this stage the prolonged and violent temper tantrums begin to disappear, and with some exceptions they completely die out in the course of two or three years. I should suggest that the disappearance of these tantrums is explicable in terms of the data contained in the preceding chapter. Tantrums are not an adequate technique for mastering an external world so inconsistent as that provided by Atimelang. Aside from having the futility of this technique borne in on them, children from five or six onward begin to pick up other devices for mastering the environment—devices that give greater satisfactions than those they can force from their elders. It is primarily with these devices that this section will deal.

At this stage differences become apparent between the life of boys and that of girls, so that it will frequently be necessary to treat them separately. Certainly one general impression that can be stated immediately is that boys are much less shy, much more in evidence, and much more mobile than girls. The reasons may be found in what follows.

RELATION OF FOOD TO TRAINING FOR THE ADULT ROLE

The first question to consider is what food the child expects and from what sources. A boy can expect a meal at home about seven o'clock in the morning and another at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself in the fluid play groups of free-roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot; a variety of insects, usually spurned by adults, can be found; in the fields near the house are papayas, mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and other vegetables that can be eaten raw or can be easily cooked.

As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children and their playmates, but if raiding is too constant or the crop is scarce, children may be forbidden this kind of foraging. Such objections are most likely to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their assistance in the fields might be expected and is not

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867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma's autobiography (page 204) [578] reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpada's autobiography (page 236) graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding [578 155 685] fosters one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and the fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is custom- [855 574] ary to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they [867] undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately 883 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of relationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of education in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is therefore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form 867 work groups (*tatul*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each 437 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recognized as a predominantly female activity.

855 857 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some

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of the less desirable portions of the animal to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which a group of boys assist grown men, is another source of food. The rats are often roasted in the fields where they are caught, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less desirable parts. It is noteworthy that there is no institutionalized recognition of a boy's first success in hunting, as there is among many peoples. If a boy is praised at all for his successes, it is only because an indulgent adult happens to take notice of them. In any event, the procuring of the day's food is as precarious and inconsistent as the administering of discipline. Furthermore, the food secured is of the less choice kind, a factor which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child a feeling of being undervalued. It is certainly not without significance that in an autobiography like Malelaka's, where he frequently stresses the good treatment he received as a child, good treatment meant being given food. It indicates that feeding is not something a child expects as a matter of course.

There is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers and have more demands made upon them in terms of their adult role as providers for the family. Weaving baskets, sewing pandanus mats, and making bark cloth are additional skills deliberately taught girls at this time by their mothers. I knew only one woman, an orphan, who did not know how to make baskets. Interestingly enough, many boys also pick up these skills to a minor degree, but without deliberate instruction.

Girls frequently go out to the fields to work with their mothers or with companions. Also, women are responsible for harvesting and preparing food. By the time a little girl is nine or ten years old, she can cook for the ordinary family needs. She therefore has more regular access to food. I know of no instances in which little girls were guilty of pilfering from gardens, although accusations to this effect were sometimes leveled at them. Such charges, on the other hand, gave rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. This does not mean, of course, that adult women do not steal, but one might expect a higher frequency of thefts by men than by women. Out of twenty-four theft anecdotes twenty-one apply to men. In the autobiographies there are eighteen identifiable cases of theft; sixteen of these were reported by the men.

Although a girl has more regular access to food she does not have the guest privileges of the small boy. She gets no presents during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to remember her and give her a bit of meat. The meat at feasts is always

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855 parents. Here again, boys, who wear the more highly priced woven cloth, are more privileged than girls, who receive only bark cloth. Both sexes between the ages of eight and twelve hope for the gift of their first shawl. Boys upon request can usually get a man to make them small bows and wooden-tipped arrows, possessions they begin to covet when they are only six or seven. Carrying baskets provided by their mothers are the counterpart for girls. Children of both sexes hope for the hoodlike pandanus raincapes that add so much to comfort during the rainy season, and most mothers see that their children are provided with them, since their manufacture involves only about two or three hours' work.

423 858 All these gifts are small in comparison to the inheritance of fields "when a child is old enough to work" — which usually means between the years of eight and fourteen. Boys and girls alike inherit fields from both fathers and mothers. No distinction is made on a sex basis. The only discrimination is on the basis of industry and aptitude. This inheritance is not so significant as might at first appear. Before the child is told that a particular field is its own, it has probably already helped its parents in cultivating the land. After ownership is transferred, simply [857] by a verbal statement, the field is still worked in collaboration with the family, and in return the child is expected to work in other fields the family owns. The crops raised on a child's field are stored in the loft along with the rest of the year's provisions and are used jointly. The only advantage accruing to the child is that the parents, if they feel they can afford it, will take a portion of the child's produce to the coast to exchange for cloth for his use. In other words, the child's satisfactions from labor are contributing to the larder and perhaps getting the coveted textile. Here again, however, children are largely at the mercy of adults, as portions of the autobiographies indicate. That the advantages are not too patent is shown by the fact that many children have to be forcibly reminded of the virtues of industry.

855 867 153 The unreliability of parents toward their children's property gives an Alorese child early opportunity either to learn the ethics basic to adult property dealings or to develop antagonism not only toward the parents but toward the whole system they represent. This point will appear more clearly in the next chapter.

DISCIPLINE

861 In any discussion of child training, kinds of discipline and the persons who may administer them are of paramount importance. Theoretically, corporal punishment in Atimelang should be administered

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saying, "I am pounding your nose, I am pounding your mouth," and so on, enumerating all the parts of the body.

The picture, therefore, seems one of progressive restraint from direct aggression to verbal aggression and of decreasing freeness in verbal aggression paralleling increasing wealth. As we shall see, this situation represents training in an aspect of one of the major emotional functions of wealth in Atimelang.

Children may vent aggression and take revenge in the form of spite and ridicule directed toward younger children or toward helpless adults. Matingma the Crazy Woman was the butt of a good deal of ridicule from young boys, who sometimes followed her down the trail imitating her walk and commenting in loud voices on her slack breasts and her promiscuity. In the children's drawings (Chapter 21) one boy represented Matingma the Crazy Woman and Lakamau the Simpleton walking together, to the uproarious amusement of the other children. On another day a boy of about fifteen drew Lakamau the Simpleton while Lakamau was present, to the victim's great discomfiture. It is worth noting that the boy later shared with Lakamau the candy he had received in payment for his drawings. Whether this should be interpreted as a gesture of kindness or a self-imposed fine, I am at a loss to say. It is quite possible that in Alor kindness and indemnification become closely associated concepts. The system of punishing and then placating a child by "speaking nicely" to it suggests that such kindness is a sort of compensation for the discipliner's own irritability, for which he feels the need to atone. It might be considered a kind of indemnification pattern, which is also found in financial relationships.

The spite and revenge that children may direct toward helpless individuals is quite possibly the explanation of adult teasing of children. One can afford to be spiteful only toward people who have no redress. The degrees to which adult discipline may be based on such a revenge principle is almost overtly stated in this passage from an autobiography: "Now [as in my father's day] we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. [This was done fairly hard and was meant to hurt.] We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me." There is at least a modicum of moralistic hypocrisy in such a viewpoint.

There is no material indicating that a child ever turns spite or revenge inward upon itself. I know of only one brief episode in which an adult so interpreted the behavior of his child. "When I was five or six I

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865 This anecdote illustrates nicely that obedience is expected and that
155 disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely helpless in the face of what it considers ill treatment. The possibility of running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the
182 flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society
571 that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability to function economically and ceremonially. It can result in some cases, of which Mangma is one (see his autobiography), in extreme fluidity of residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap between theory and practice in community life.

STATUS

157 It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a
858 sense of being undervalued from the lack of provision for feeding them and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat. Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's property are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of unworthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by stating that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but compared with girls, and even women, they are not.

858 However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made to feel his status. Sometimes contemptuously and sometimes as a matter of fact, adults say, "He is only a child; he doesn't think yet." A comparable comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equivalent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that to call an adult a child (*moku*) is a great insult, because, as it was explained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing, has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.

851 Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a
885 sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has children. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

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These factors cannot but create distrust toward others and lability 856
in human relationships. Children must be left with a sense of bewilderment in placing their loyalties and with an essential ignorance of warm and trustful relationships. The lack of training and praise, as well as the presence of teasing, ridicule, and fear, combined with lack of privileges and esteem, must create in the child an essential distrust of itself. All these factors will influence ego formations. They will probably affect morality clusters by failing to provide consistent behavioral precepts. They deprive the child of definite loved persons by means of whom 577
social standards can be internalized.

I do not wish to imply that the Alorese are without such standards—social life without them could not exist. But there is good reason to believe that in Alor the standards are not so rigid or so deeply rooted as they are in our middle class. The likelihood of a deep sense of [154]
guilt, therefore, and of turning aggressions inward upon the self to the point of suicide is much less pronounced. Suicide as a culturally recog- [762]
nized device is unknown, and I have records of only a very few situations that might be interpreted by implication as suicidal. (See Chapter 7.)

In respect to sex the culture is much less harsh. Sexual activity is 856
expected to diminish during late childhood. However, information regarding it is not withheld, and disapproved activity seems to be no more harshly treated than social offenses such as theft and disobedience. Again, as in earlier developmental periods, the activities of the instincts [155]
seem to be less destructively handled than those of the ego.

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This quantitative statement becomes slightly more meaningful when broken down as follows:

	Males	*Females*
Number of cases examined	111	140
Adults who have never married	14	0
Adults who have at some time contracted a marriage	98	140
Contemporary widows and widowers	5	15
Additional wives		15
Married adults who have never been divorced	97	93
Divorces among those remaining	49	47

Some of the significant facts apparent from these figures are that there are twenty-eight more women than men in the community. This indicates a higher mortality among men since out of 168 recorded births the sex ratio was 1 to 1. However, despite the surplus of women, because of plural marriages, there are no women who have never married, whereas, because of the financial difficulties of men in contracting marriages, there are fourteen men who have not. Parenthetically it should be noted that of these fourteen all but one are young and still hope to contract marriages. Women seem to be definitely at an advantage in the matter of acquiring a spouse.

In marriages, however, the expectancy of women to lose a spouse through death is higher than for men. On the other hand, the expectancy of rejecting or being rejected by a spouse is one to three for women, whereas it is one to two for men. In other words, these figures suggest that men are less secure than women in terms of the voluntary dissolution of marriage. Might this, in conjunction with other factors, mean that men feel emotionally less secure in marriage?

One more comment should be made concerning these figures. They probably understate the actual expectancy of broken marriages, since despite repeated checking there were undoubtedly instances that were forgotten by the several informants consulted. Furthermore, many of the adults listed were still young and had not yet run their full course of marital readjustments.

If the diagnosis of personality formation so far has been correct, the marital relationships here described are not surprising. Most men are searching for a mother-provider whom experience has taught them they are unlikely to find and toward whom, therefore, they feel much latent hostility. On the other hand, the women have had little in their own childhood experiences to give the stability and security men seek to find in them. Quite apart from such genetic explanations, which are only probable, there is little question that once again a descriptive linkage exists between sex, wealth, and food.

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607 nitely a woman was able to assert herself in terms of her real power as a
562 provider quite apart from financial status or kinship authority.

The power of women as opposed to that of men is less rigidified by
593 status requirements. It may leave a weak-willed woman in conflict. A
562 determined woman, however, has greater liberty in placing her allegiance where she will. An anecdote in the autobiography of Kolengkaleta gives such a case (page 494). Her husband was repudiated by his brother. She was free either to repudiate him also or to offer him the support of her own village and kinsmen. She chose the latter course. The husband could not but have felt the degree to which he was dependent
562 on his wife. Women's in-group loyalties and status obligations are less fixed than those of men. To a self-assured person this might give freedom. To an insecure person this might heighten a sense of bewilderment. Since the basic childhood training of Atimelang girls inculcates very little more in the way of internal resources than it does for boys, we should not expect women to be notably more constructive than men, even in the face of greater freedom of choice in certain areas. Test data substantiate this reasoning.

CONCLUSIONS

992 A number of points may be drawn together by way of summary for
562 this chapter. Boys have a longer and more difficult sociologic adoles-
155 cence than girls because they must enter the financial system. Their experiences and knowledge in that field may well be such as to reinforce the impression of uncertainty and inconsistency secured in connection with disciplines in childhood. Their search in marriage is for
[811] sexual gratification, for a provider, and for status both in wealth and in children. They seek in their wives a mother-provider, a role that women have been ill equipped to fulfill. Girls have had a more purposive training in childhood for adult roles although the administration of disciplines has been as inconsistent for them as it has been for boys. Their sociologic adolescence is brief, and they may undertake the sexual aspects of marriage unwillingly. In addition, marriage means for women far
562 greater economic responsibilities in a social system that does not grant them status recognition equal to that of men, while at the same time it places on them greater and more monotonous burdens of labor. For women complete adult status through childbearing is not rewarded socially; it is to an extent penalized in that it adds to labor and responsibilities. The important role of women is covertly recognized but not overtly. There is little in the way of cultural rewards (except posthumous remembrance in the form of death feasts) to make them want to

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be mothers to their own children. There is even less to make them want 542
to be mothers to their husbands.

The culture fosters a linkage of food, sex, and wealth. All three of 552
these are associated with many avenues of possible frustrations and pre- 594
pare the ground for instability and distrust in the marital relationship.
Despite this, the essential biologic unity of the family group is recog-
nized in the repercussions of adultery on the spouse and offspring.
Family unity is reinforced and extended in social organization by the
woman's theoretic absorption into the man's lineage and village and is
expressed economically by the theoretic mutual dependency in the divi-
sion of property between the sexes, which should make for cohesion.
Formally phrased dependencies may be denied in actuality by the initia- [545]
tive allowed women in sexual affairs, by the real power they are capable
of exerting, and by the cross-skills allowed the sexes, so that individuals [545]
can exist alone, adequately if not maximally. The weight of male-
controlled finances and the complex affinal exchanges succeed in throw-
ing the balance on the side of the theoretic structure.

The sum of all the personal factors and the discrepancies between 555
form and practice in institutions should combine to make people inbred wists, highly individualized and self-contained to the point of being encysted, without at the same time creating any basic self-assurance and independence born of self-confidence. The recognized patterns of teasing, deceit, lying, and chicanery may be considered both as contributing causes and as effects of such attitudes. All these factors should produce a modal personality whose independence rests upon frustrations, confusions, and surrendered goals. In some instances the inability to create human contacts may actually be phrased as a fear of them. As Mangum said after telling one of his dreams, "We die if people are fond of us."

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[193] this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for
554 modifiers. There are only intensifiers.
576 This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a consid-
erable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving
a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an
[527] unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token"
(*makiling*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The
next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the
dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.
154 All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the
626 foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers.
Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between
shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atime-
langers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say
about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous
emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized
police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation,
shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply
the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern,
● [558] as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame pro-
duces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be
diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive
quality.
154 That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of sui-
185 cide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear
that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing
of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the
world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As
154 we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it
556 are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are
thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been
offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of dan-
ger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into
wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of expres-
sing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains.
The result, at least in the past, was war.

QUARRELS

571 In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association
with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear
observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

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Carvings of village guardian spirits, panthers, and the like are all singularly crude, and no value is attached to them once they have been used for sacrificial purposes. It is not unusual to see these "sacred" carvings lying on the ground rotting away. (It was always considered a windfall to be able to sell me one. Also, I found it impossible to appeal to pride in order to procure good specimens for the museum collection I was making, and only by repeatedly refusing to pay for the poor ones did I get better examples of handicrafts.)

Although they are capable of building large and imposing houses, about a third of the houses were of the shed or field-hut type, which can be thrown together in a few days. Even an imposing new lineage house will have the edges of its thatch torn to shreds within a year by its owners, who pull out a handful whenever they want a torch at night. As I have already indicated, tattooing and tooth blackening are so unskilfully done that they fail frequently to be permanent. Basketry is of the simplest sort, with a minimum of overlay decorations. The Atimelangers have never acquired the arts of weaving known on the coast, of pottery produced in villages not two hours away, or of *cire perdue* casting known in the eastern part of the island. This is true despite the fact that they know the processes fairly well, and there are no taboos or restrictions that I could discover against the practice of such crafts.

Their mythology is confused and unstructuralized. Their knowledge of genealogies is so deficient that many individuals do not know their more remote Male House kin. Ceremonial procedure is almost always a source of fumbling and of heated argument as to proper procedure. In respect to some of these items, it is possible that they represent newly or partially introduced features which were not clearly understood in the first place, or else features that were survivalistic. Regardless of the possible historical situation, the fact remains that little is done by way of elaboration and integration, and no effort is made to master the resources of the environment.

From the point of view of depth psychology all this might well point to a weakness in ego development. This would be in agreement with my suggestions in the preceding chapters, that it is precisely in the realm of ego development that the Atimelang child suffers the greatest handicaps and receives the least encouragement. The rewards are few and meager in childhood as well as in adult life. Men want to be rich; they may have the drive, but more than drive is necessary for successful accomplishment. Consistent training and the assurance of reward (or penalty) are essential to learning. These two factors are largely absent. It is not astonishing, therefore, that so many men accept the

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155 role of satellites, which is a partial abandonment of goal and a partial continuation of childhood patterns.

FINANCE AND ESTHETICS

517 533 436 It is interesting that there are only two areas in which men seem to achieve any degree of esthetic self-expression. Both are indirectly associated with finance. One is gong playing, the other is versification. It will be recalled that gongs are one of the currencies. Whole gongs (*fokung*) are not very fluid as currency since they are prized for ceremonial purposes. Broken gongs (*rai*) are used constantly as small change. Their values range from about fifty cents to several rupiahs. Gong playing begins in middle childhood and may continue throughout life. 533 More often the long, steady gong beating of death memorials (*sinewai*), of lineage house building, and so forth is turned over to boys and young men, but older men frequently experiment with new rhythms or set the pattern for an orchestra composed of mokos and gongs of different sizes.

538 The connection of versification with finance comes out more plainly than that of gong playing and finance. It is the only form of poetic expression possessed by the people. It is, in fact, practically the only attempt at literary expression of any sort. The preoccupation with finance and even its esthetic transmutations are evident from some of the verses quoted below. The dances last from eight or nine o'clock in the 535 evening until dawn the next day. They usually precede a ceremonial event, with its inevitable financial concomitants. The participants, facing inward, their arms about each other, form a circle on the dance place. They progress sideways.

Any man may begin a verse. The form in which he expresses himself has certain stereotyped limits and a set range of elaborate metaphors, but it is not so fixed that creative leeway is forbidden. As the soloist finishes a verse, he indicates a change in tempo. Thereupon all 535 the dancers join in one of the dozen or more set choruses characterized by syllables which are predominantly meaningless and slightly more rapid in beat. The ability to improvise is highly esteemed. Ambitious young men of seventeen or eighteen years first try to versify in this fashion. An inadequate performance is not publicly ridiculed, but there is a certain amount of snickering behind the performer's back. Those with real ability persist in their efforts and may be admired performers by the time they are in their late thirties or early forties. Abilities naturally vary. By rough estimate perhaps 10 per cent of the mature men are recognized as good singers. A few verses taken at random from

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775 On one occasion he said, "People have two souls, a long one and a short one, both called *hemoting*. When a seer sees a ghost he sees the eyes which have fallen out and travel alone. He may also see a soul which looks like a human being but which grows taller and taller. When it is very tall, it falls over and gets up short again. That is how it walks. Some seers see souls as very tiny spiders which float through the air. These are often called *boiboi*, but they are also *hemoting*. When a man dies, his breath has already gone, but two eyes linger here around the village. Some old people went to Haminɲuku once and saw torn mats, broken pots, and drinking tubes like those broken on a person's grave, but we don't know anything about how the dead live in Haminɲuku. The souls of the violently dead go above, but we know nothing about that."

Three months later Rilpada, who was, relatively speaking, an authority, gave the following in answer to questions about Sahiek: "People who die go down a slope and come to a level place where there is a big ravine with a bridge across it. The feet of those who cross become slippery. Those who are young and swift get across and go off a long way to Haminɲuku. The people who fall go to Sahiek, which is Karfehawa's village. They say to Karfehawa, 'Grandfather, I lost my way. Give me just a little water to drink.' Then Karfehawa looks at them and if he likes what he sees, he invites them up on his large verandah and his wife cooks millet for them. She invites them to enter the house to eat. As they start up the ladder, she pours millet on them. Then the burial rope, shroud, and maggots all fall. The bones are picked up and covered with cloth. Karfehawa's wife, who is called Masingbal, takes a fire tube and hits her husband's legs. He jumps and there is an earthquake. When young people die, there is no earthquake; these occur only when grown and rich men die. Those that Karfehawa likes are given a field house and allowed to stay. If he does not like those who come, he spits in their mouths instead of inviting them up on the verandah. He orders them to follow the river down to the sea. There they [123] turn into salt and lime rock. When lime bites our tongue we say, 'This is our dead forebear turned to lime.'"

In view of the fact that this is the most elaborate account of life after death that I was able to get, its paucity and its inconsistencies are striking. The emphasis on the adult and the rich, as opposed to the young and to those Karfehawa does not like (presumably the poor), is instructive. That lime, which burns the mouth, should be identified [155] with forebears and that rejection is expressed by spitting saliva into the

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mouth instead of giving food may just possibly be considered fantasies centering on infantile feeding experiences.

GOOD BEINGS

The motif of revivification by spilling food on a corpse is poorly developed in these speculations by Rilpada. It is, however, one of the most persistent myth motifs, especially in myths dealing with Good Beings (*mala kang;* literally, something good). They inhabit villages above in the sky or below in the sea. There seems to be no relation between their place of residence and the abodes of the dead. Around these beings are woven the most numerous and elaborate myths and they are an ever-present reality. The murder of the radjah in 1918 was precipitated by his followers' disrespectful treatment of a woman who had established herself in the minds of her fellow villagers as a Good Being.

In 1929 Malelaka had the Five Villages at a high pitch of excitement over his predictions of the imminent arrival of these supernaturals. In one day two small guesthouses were erected, an area was cleared and fenced, and in addition two stone basins were made into which would flow upon the arrival of the Good Beings two miraculous streams. In one the old could bathe and be rejuvenated; in the other, people would be healed of their illnesses. Death would disappear and death feasts were to be discontinued. Meanwhile people were to abstain from such foods as eels, crayfish, crabs, and fish. For some six recent prophets on whom there is material these ideas remain fairly constant. The interesting thing about the ideas are the fantasies they express—the desires to escape death, illness, and death feasts. The conflicts that this last prophecy created in Malelaka are reflected in his autobiography, which was given at the time when his Good Being speculations were once more active.

That such wishful thinking was not limited to Malelaka and his fellow prophets is evinced by the cooperation they received in preparing for these supernaturals. People from many surrounding villages were sufficiently credulous to bring their sick to the expected advent. There was in fact so much excited interest that the government sent up the full garrison of troops to destroy the structures and arrest Malelaka. This interference plus the disastrous war of 1918 led to the growth of a good deal of scepticism, and the tentative Good Being talk current in 1938 and 1939 was meeting with much incredulity. The inclination to abandon what has been a failure seems to me a consistent part of the nonfanatical and realistic temperament of Atimelangers. They are far

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Chapter 9

Some Personality Determinants in Alorese Culture

BY ABRAM KARDINER

ALORESE culture is not polarized sharply in any one direction. There is no great subsistence difficulty to supply us with a focus. Therefore, instead of leading off from one particular feature of the culture, it is perhaps best to work from the life cycle of the individual and see what successive integrational systems we can identify.

CHILDHOOD

In evaluating the kind of care the mother is able to give the child we must bear in mind the economic duties of the mother during the time of the infant's growth. The child is left at home while the mother goes out to care for the garden. Hunger tensions that arise are generally well taken care of either by the appointed nurse or by an older sibling. However, the child does not have the opportunity to form strong attachments to the mother because the whole conditioning is not associated with a constant object.

At this point one may ask: Since the child is conditioned in this particular way, why does not this suffice? As previously noted, an element in the relief of tension, which is of great significance for the child, is the responsiveness and the consistency of the object caring for it. In other words, the child does not react in a predetermined fashion, but here the conditions favoring the recognition of a dependable object to relieve hunger tensions are not built up. Furthermore, the intermittent appearance of the mother in the morning and her reappearance in the evening, separated by a long delay, are likely to accentuate the conception of the mother as a frustrating object. We can therefore conclude that while there is no actual paucity of nourishment, the child is poorly nurtured. Dr. Du Bois has noted that despite conscientious feeding, infants do reject good food. She also noted the fact that infants try unsuccessfully to nurse at the breast of a mother-surrogate, such as the father or an immature sibling, which seems to be a sure indication of an unsatisfied need tension. It must be stressed that breast feeding is available to the child at the earliest stage but that the substitutes just mentioned are no more reliable than is the mother herself. Hunger tensions in earliest infancy are therefore liable to frustration because of the confusion associated with the conditioning.

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Even though there are these numerous traumata in connection with feeding, weaning is not traumatic. But the readiness with which children suck at objects which resemble breasts is a further indication of the effects of poor maternal care. A child free of hunger tensions can expand the character of its contacts with the mother, and once she becomes a dependable object the child has a reliable buffer against the outer world. If this buffer is absent, nothing but anxiety and inhibitions can result. This shows itself chiefly as a lack of interest both in the outer world and in those ego components through which mastery of it is effected.

Two additional features must be mentioned. First, the mother does not find the feeding of the child particularly pleasurable. This is very likely to be the case when the mother herself has been through the experience that she now imposes on the child. A second point is that in many of the illnesses which the child suffers at this time, it is the father who is blamed for having broken a taboo or one of the abstinences imposed upon him during the early life of the child. In this way the mother escapes a blame which she undoubtedly feels.

The fact that mothers occasionally masturbate their children while feeding them is no commentary on their sex morality but on the fact that the masturbatic activity is used as a palliative; and it is very likely that sexual gratification thus becomes very early in life established as a means of placating the child for frustrations suffered in other directions.

With regard to training the child to walk and talk, little deliberate effort is made. From comparisons with children in our society one can safely deduce the fact that the child is subject to a continuous series of frustrations in its efforts to establish some mastery over the world. This means also that positive and enterprising attitudes toward the world are not developed, for failures foster inhibitions.

While the child is thus not encouraged to strong ego formation in early childhood, there is an extenuating circumstance in the fact that it is not subjected to discipline which it cannot understand. There is a conspicuous absence of restrictive discipline, particularly in connection with anal training. Here it may be noted that the Alorese seem to have no buttock erotic sensitivity or consciousness. This zone is seemingly devoid of significance — nor is it used in punishing children, as is the case in our society. Anal training seems to be synchronous with growth and is taught mainly by example. Hence these activities cannot contribute very much to the formation of the ego ideal.

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857 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into economic activities.

155 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are [867] frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes reprisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolangkalieta mentions such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the mouth of a crying child.

155 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor 864 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity; its inhibiting influ- 593 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex- 155 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the systematic way in which the mother teases and cheats the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by [562] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continu- [586 837] ous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The supercilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin 182 in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

855 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character. 155 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the 593 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely 155 to have a peculiarly hollow inflation. The sexual role of the father, 593 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

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it is this circumstance, together with the implied discipline connected with sex, that makes possible the development of an Oedipus complex. The social role of the father is appreciated very much later in life, at which time it may be despotic. He can arbitrarily claim any independent possession of the child and use it for his own ends. In marital arrangements the father is the one chiefly to gain by the sexual value of his daughter. We have thus in the father an individual whose rights over the child are strong but who gives the child practically nothing. The father's control over the children is apparently unequally divided between the sexes; a daughter, by whose marriage the father has something to gain, is more likely to remain in his power than a son. Sons, however, must feel some hostility toward him because of the sexual advantages he enjoys. The young man can have sexual relations only at the risk of incurring financial penalties. This factor must reinforce the already divided feelings toward women that the young man has derived from relations with his mother.

An extremely important point in the relationships of parents to children, and one that has a direct bearing on the absence of inflation of parental imago, is the almost complete lack of reward systems. According to the general principles of psychology, a child can endure frustrations provided certain compensations are made or certain rewards given, either within a short enough time after the frustration in question or expressly related to it. In Alorese culture we have a frustration-reward balance which is extremely poor, and this can only add to the submerged hostility toward the parent. The role of the sense of shame as a basis for the superego is much less satisfactory than more concrete forms of punishment. It lacks the specificity so necessary for correlation with an act which is disapproved and it furnishes no quantitative evaluation of the degree of disapproval. Frightening the child as a disciplinary measure is perhaps more specific—that is, it permits closer connection between the offense and punishment—than shaming, and in this culture can only have the effect of heightening the already high degree of anxiety and of increasing the amount of aggression.

The importance of all these factors is the specific role that they play in superego formation. The tonicity of the superego is maintained by the capacity to internalize the parental ideal. And this in turn is facilitated by the anticipation of rewards. The absence of reward systems means, therefore, that the internalization of the parental ideal must be defective.

As regards the siblings we have a unique situation. Children who

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593 857 have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the oldest sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gardens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

864 155 The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not known either among women or men. The breast retains a high erogenous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

838 832 861 155 A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situation in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

154 865 155 So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, adumbrating many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

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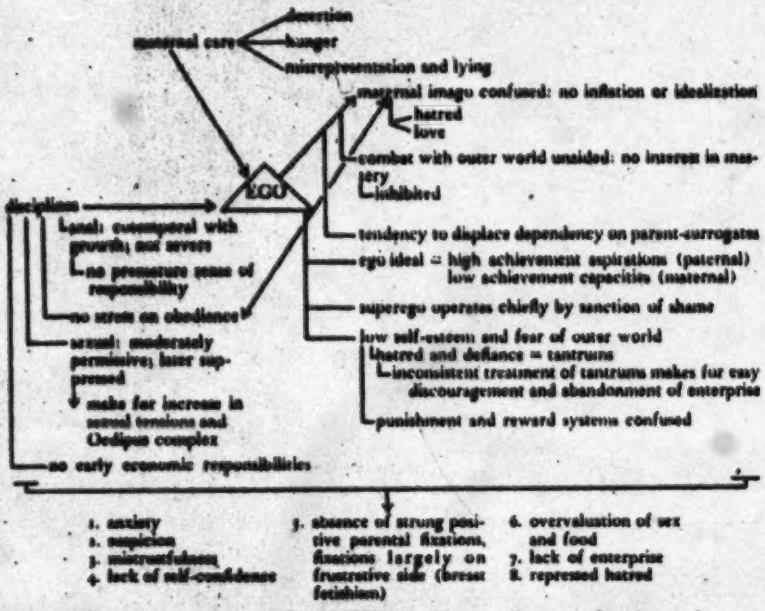
Chart I. Integrative Units of Early Childhood


maternal care
desertion
hunger
misrepresentation and lying
maternal image confused: no inflation or idealization
hatred
love
combat with outer world unaided: no interest in mastery
inhibited
EGO
discipline
anal: contemporal with growth; not severe
no premature sense of responsibility
no stress on obedience
sexual: moderately permissive; later suppressed
make for increase in sexual tensions and Oedipus complex
no early economic responsibilities
tendency to displace dependency on parent-surrogates
ego ideal = high achievement aspirations (paternal)
low achievement capacities (maternal)
superego operates chiefly by sanction of shame
low self-esteem and fear of outer world
hatred and defiance = tantrums
inconsistent treatment of tantrums makes for easy discouragement and abandonment of enterprise
punishment and reward systems confused
1. anxiety
2. suspicion
3. mistrustfulness
4. lack of self-confidence
5. absence of strong positive parental fixations, fixations largely on frustrative side (breast fetishism)
6. overvaluation of sex and food
7. lack of enterprise
8. repressed hatred

personality is not yet stabilized. We shall now list briefly those factors which seem to us most important for the picture of late childhood given in Chart II.

Late childhood is characterized chiefly by the channelization of aggression. Forging and stealing is really constructive ego development in the boy. It would be an error to regard this purely as an effort to make good the deficiencies in parental care that persist throughout this period. It is also partly an expression of vengeance against the parent and a bit of self-assertion in that it implies, "I really don't need you any more." A general guilt feeling about the deprivation of youngsters exists in the form of a universal fear of being robbed without any strenuous efforts to stop their depredations.

A second feature in late childhood is the fact that children of both sexes are prematurely inducted into the maternal role. The influence of this factor on the care of infants and on the development of sibling relationships has been discussed previously.

A third point is that although no formal training exists for the boy, there is a continuance of coercive measures, a continuance of the practice of fooling, misleading, and lying which only generates more and

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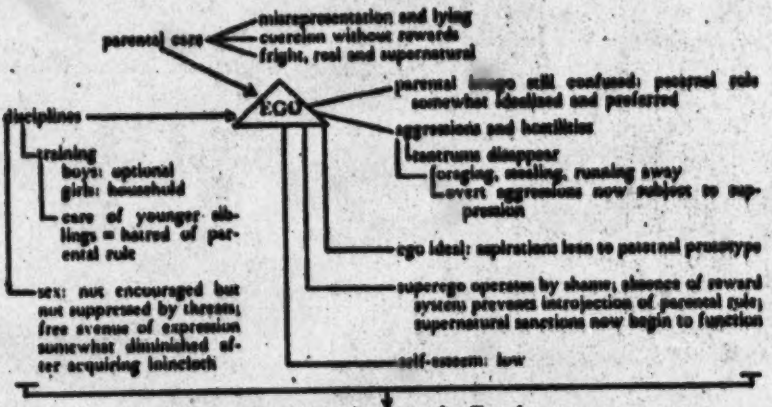
Chart II. Late Childhood


parental care
misrepresentation and lying
coercion without rewards
fright, real and supernatural
EGO
disciplines
training
boys: optional
girls: household
care of younger siblings = hatred of parental rule
sex: not encouraged but not suppressed by threats; free avenue of expression somewhat diminished after acquiring loincloth
parental image still confused: paternal rule somewhat idealized and preferred
aggressions and hostilities
tantrums disappear
ego ideal: aspirations lean to paternal prototype
superego operates by shame; absence of reward system prevents introjection of parental rule; supernatural sanctions now begin to function
self-esteem: low

Resultant traits same as for Chart I.

155 more distrust and ends finally in the child's complete inability to believe
858 anyone. This circumstance perhaps more than any other is responsible for the weak libidinal ties and the internal sense of isolation that individuals often have. There are no permissive disciplines at this time,
[861] and further new sanctions are invoked in the form of supernatural disapproval. It is at this time that the child also learns that none of its
[858] rights in the family are inviolate, that gifts received can be revoked arbitrarily, and that even such gifts as fields, gardens, and pigs are really only nominal.

154 To offset these circumstances the child, particularly the boy, has a channel of expression, perhaps the most common that the culture recognizes, namely, running away. This offers both a safety valve for the pent-up aggressions and an opportunity to sustain the hope that the child may in one of its other relatives find the kind parent so long sought.

864 One of the advantages to childhood development is the rather lacka-
154 daisical attitude toward sexual practices in children. In this activity they can indulge, surreptitiously to be sure, but without fear of serious punishment. However, it must be noted that sexual activity in children is tolerated rather than permitted or encouraged. The child's pilfering
[857] and its opportunities for sexual activities with other children in some measure keep in balance those constellations already formed in early childhood. The activities afford some expression for pent-up hostility, but the situation is very little altered. It is likely that these oppor-

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It is likely that these opportunities for both stealing and sex activity prevent the aggressions of early childhood from reaching explosive forms later.

It is not likely that the suppression imposed on overt forms of aggression or the gradual diminution in the use of obscene words injures the child in any way. However, it must be noted that the self-esteem of the child is in no way improved over what it was earlier in childhood; it still remains low. The child must still have the idea that it is a supernumerary, that it is of no account, for only grudgingly is the boy permitted to participate on the fringes of adult male activity. In this respect the position of the girl is distinctly better, but for reasons that we shall presently see, the prejudices accumulated in childhood do not make the maternal role acceptable to her.

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE, AND SEX

From this point on, the basic personality structure of the males and females must be considered separately.

Induction into adulthood for the boy is not accompanied by any severe puberty rites to mark the introduction of new and serious restrictions. It is not infrequently the case in societies where puberty rites are severe that the boy is compelled to surrender certain advantages of immaturity and is given new ones that he heretofore did not enjoy. As a matter of fact, in Alor puberty does not introduce the boy to any strikingly new experience; on the contrary, it is the beginning of a long and arduous struggle for the achievement of manhood. The success of this achievement is vested largely in the father, who by virtue of his control over property—or of the opportunities for gaining control over it—can indefinitely delay the boy's entrance into manhood. Nor is there any necessity for binding the child to any rigid sexual taboos; these are left in the same status as in early childhood, that is to say, sexuality, as such, is permitted, but gaining status by marriage is rigidly under control. The theoretical advantage of free sexual play is thus actually canceled. The situation eventually arises where the father actually interferes, not with sexual gratification or the opportunities therefor, but with admission to the status of marriage. (See Chart III.)

In relation to his father the boy continues to operate under a system of coercions without rewards, notwithstanding the fact that the power of the father is only relative and the actual control of the subsistence economy is largely in the hands of the women. The status of the father becomes the envied objective of the boy.

In order to evaluate the boy's approach to a wife we must see those integrational systems which have already been formed by the time he

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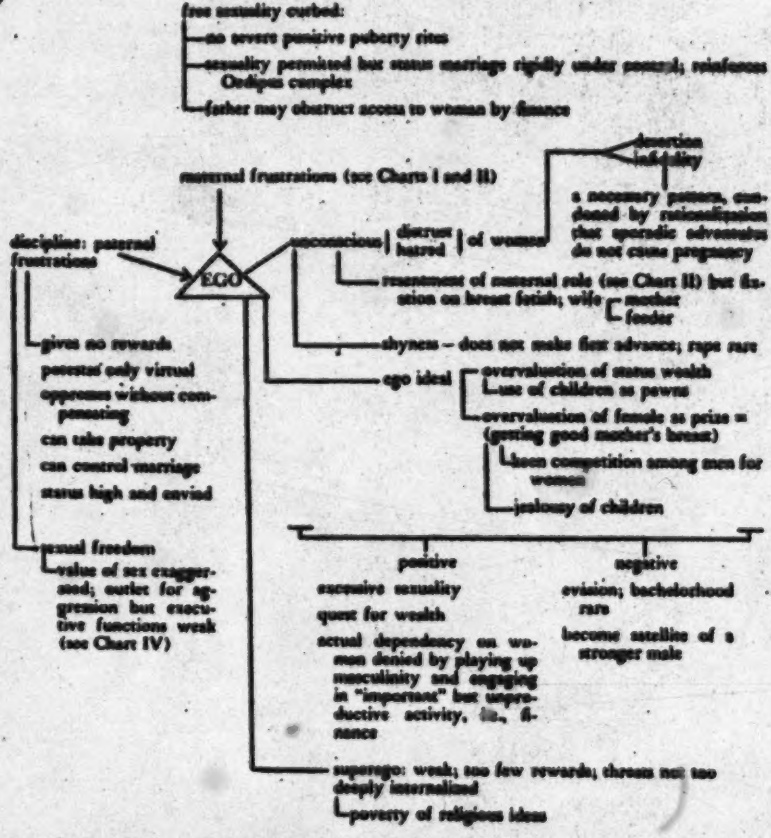
Chart III. Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex (Males)


free sexuality curbed:
no severe punitive puberty rites
sexuality permitted but status marriage rigidly under parental reinforces Oedipus complex
father may obstruct access to woman by finance
maternal frustrations (see Charts I and II)
desertion infidelity
a necessary pattern, condoned by rationalization that sporadic adventures do not cause pregnancy
discipline: paternal frustrations
EGO
unconscious
distrust hatred
of women
resentment of maternal role (see Chart II) but fixation on breast fetish; wife mother feeder
shyness – does not make first advance; rape rare
ego ideal
overvaluation of status wealth
use of children as pawns
overvaluation of female as prize = (getting good mother's breast)
keen competition among men for women
jealousy of children
gives no rewards
parents only virtual opponents without compensating
can take property
can control marriage
status high and envied
sexual freedom
value of sex exaggerated; outlet for aggression but executive functions weak (see Chart IV)
positive
negative
excessive sexuality
quest for wealth
actual dependency on women denied by playing up masculinity and engaging in "important" but unproductive activity, i.e., finance
evasion; bachelorhood rare
become satellite of a stronger male
superego: weak; too few rewards, threats not too deeply internalized
poverty of religious ideas

reaches puberty. From the maternal frustrations we have seen that the boy contracts an unconscious hatred and distrust of the woman. Heretofore he has, however, had the opportunity through his care of the younger siblings to identify himself with the mother. In addition, he has likewise been compelled to aid her in her gardening. These roles suffer by comparison with the accepted prestige of the male role. His long experience with hunger frustrations and the fact that the mother is knowingly responsible for them gives the boy a very strong fetishistic attachment to the maternal breast, so that his approach to the woman is likely to be associated with the same inhibitions, fears, and hostilities that he contracted toward his mother. In consequence it is

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therefore no surprise to learn that although the sexual impulse has not been seriously checked, the approach to the woman is filled with shyness and anxiety. It is a fact from the accounts of both men and women that it is the woman who makes the first advance. It is also significant that rape is very rare in this society. The feminine imago is bound to be associated with mother and breast, objects which he both longs to possess and fears. The attitude toward the woman is therefore controlled by two powerful forces: first, that the father can obstruct legitimate access to the woman, and second, that the woman herself is a source of anxiety.

In the face of this one may ask why there is not more male celibacy in the society. The answer probably lies in the effect of these influences upon ego ideal formation in the boy. He must derive an exaggerated idea of the value of potency — which incidentally is appreciated by the woman — but more important still, an enormously exaggerated idea of the value of status and wealth. The first represents the means of acquiring the good mother, the second the means of being equal to and opposing the despotic father. The goal of the man is fixed upon the reaffirmation of his self-esteem through the quest for wealth.

The difficulties and discomforts of a male's position cannot be overemphasized. It is interesting to note that in a society where there is a preponderance of women the actual incidence of bachelorhood is occasional, whereas no spinsterhood was observed. No wonder! The weakest must fail, but to cope with this failure society offers two possible solutions: evasion through bachelorhood, which is held in great contempt; and becoming the satellite of a more powerful male, which is merely a perpetuation of the state of childhood.

Although opportunities exist in childhood for the expression of sexuality, thereby diminishing the intensity of the Oedipus complex, the burden of conflict with the father comes in adolescence and in young manhood. By this time the boy has had too little opportunity to exercise any really effective aggression against his father, so that the expression through the quest of sexuality becomes the avenue of choice. It is not impossible to find that at this time a young man with serious sexual inhibitions makes violent gestures toward getting a wife.

As regards superego formation, it follows from the preceding description that it would of necessity be weak. The boy gets so few rewards for obedience that the threats of punishment cannot become very securely internalized. It is therefore no surprise to see that the two expressions of superego formation, religion and the technique of maintaining social cohesion, are not strong. There remain the sense

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155 of shame, which is really an external agent, and the sense of guilt, which depends upon the internalization of the good parental imago, the tonicity of which is maintained by the hope of being reinstated into parental grace. In this latter the young man has had exceedingly poor experience.

562 154 One final point must be mentioned in connection with the masculine ego ideal. The dependency upon the woman is all too well known. Hence the playing up of masculinity by exaggerating the importance of male financial activities is largely a way of denying dependency upon the woman.

[582] 155 The induction of the female into adulthood is much easier and is accompanied by fewer necessities for changes in attitude, and by fewer conflicts. Here too we must review the experience of the mother and her resentment of the maternal role, which she is prematurely asked to undertake with the younger siblings. She will not be inclined to give [857] children what she herself did not get. Her wish to abandon herself sexually to the man is filled with internal resistance. Likewise there is resentment at bearing children and caring for them, a fact that leads to two consequences, frequency of abortions and maternal neglect of children. This really completes the cycle. As far as the feminine ego ideal is concerned, the masculine role seems decidedly preferable. It is devoid of the arduous responsibilities and the actual hard labor that go with being a wife and a mother. (See Chart IV.)

932 Under these conditions it is not difficult to understand why it is that the female so frequently takes the aggressive role sexually. Actually this aggression by the female is largely through default on the part of the 581 male. Secondly, the status of marriage is, notwithstanding its hardships, infinitely more desirable to the woman than would be the state of spinsterhood. If the role of wife is accepted, the woman has some compensations. She can actually dominate the male by threatening the with- [593] drawal of food, and she can exercise a powerful check upon his infidelities by making the financial obligations associated with bride-price infinitely greater. As we have said before, the whole financial arrangement in connection with marriage acts as a powerful check in keeping the tottering structure of relations between the sexes in some kind of balance.

593 It is difficult to formulate any opinion about the attitude of the woman toward her father, and no consistent pattern emerges of her reactions to her possible importance in his financial schemes. From it she may derive some sense of importance. There is little evidence to prove one way or another the nature of the infantile attachment to the father.

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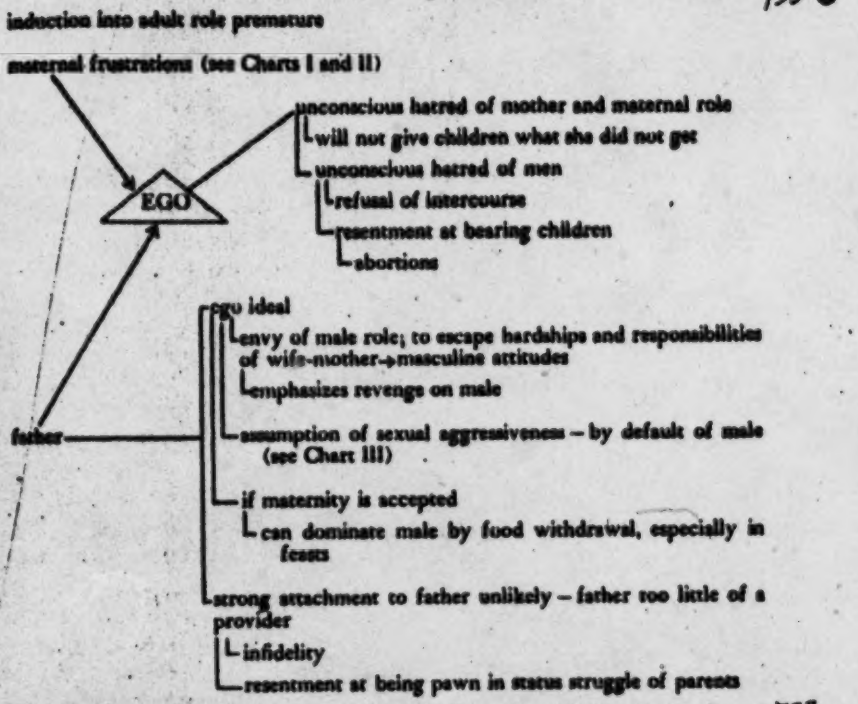
Chart IV. Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex (Females) 155


induction into adult role premature
maternal frustrations (see Charts I and II)
EGO
unconscious hatred of mother and maternal role
will not give children what she did not get
unconscious hatred of men
refusal of intercourse
resentment at bearing children
abortions
ego ideal
envy of male role; to escape hardships and responsibilities of wife-mother → masculine attitudes
emphasizes revenge on male
father
assumption of sexual aggressiveness – by default of male (see Chart III)
if maternity is accepted
can dominate male by food withdrawal, especially in feasts
strong attachment to father unlikely – father too little of a provider
infidelity
resentment at being pawn in status struggle of parents

We may suppose it to be freer of ambivalence in childhood, since most 593
of the prejudices against the parents come from the influence of the mother. It would appear that the female has a more comfortable internal adjustment. The actual control of the household lies in her hands. 562
She does not, however, have the nominal advantage of status. It is therefore theoretically possible to see two poles in female adjustments—the masculine type which exercises power largely by dominating the male through permitted channels and the feminine type which accepts the feminine role. Perhaps the chief source of woman's security is that by reason of a series of factors she is actually the most valuable object in the society. Few women, however, are likely to be in a position of internal security to enjoy this advantage.

PRESTIGE AND PERSONALITY

What we have described up to this point is the basic personality 155
structure of both sexes. No change occurs in it from this point on, for

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153 no new situations are encountered. What we will see henceforth is merely the working through of the old constellations in relation to the social goal of status.

157 154 It is the answer to the question, "What do I think of myself?" that can supply us with some information about the source from which the quest for prestige derives its motive power. The wish to be equal to, or better than, another is really a reflection of an internal need to think well of oneself. In this regard the Alorese quest for prestige has a very strong internal function, since at no time in the life cycle of the individual does he have the opportunity to think highly of himself. The male especially emerges into adulthood with a profound feeling of unworthiness. It would be reasonable to expect therefore in the male strongly repressed predatory trends, which would be less marked in the female. To bear this out it was observed that within limits it is the men who steal and ask for presents; the women do not. Women return gifts; men do not. Women share with others; men do not. The father is the chief beneficiary of the bride-price dealings; the mother much less so. The men seek compensations in dress and regalia; the women do not. The sensitivity to personal defects, that is, the touchiness, may be exaggerated in the men as compared with the women. It is the male who is predominantly mortified to have any derogatory epithet leveled at him. The men eat first when guests are present, and the women eat later. Every opportunity is exercised by men, both through the rights over children and through chicanery, to cancel out the deep feeling of unworthiness.

154 556 The role of money is therefore an important factor in the effort to establish security. Interestingly enough the wealth quest is not in the form of an actual accumulation of gongs and mokos. Emphasis falls rather on the fact that money gives one control over others, and this is what really tells the story. A lien upon another person means that you can at your will convert him into a giver. The inability to control the 155 mother was the most signal defeat of childhood. If we can allocate this 157 defeat to any zone, it is really to an oral one, for it is accompanied by 241 intense feelings of greed and envy. The general stinginess about food is evidently derived from oral frustrations, a fact which is strongly supported by the consideration that there is no coercive anal training in childhood.

556 574 578 The accumulation of wealth is obviously not free of dangers. The fact that large displays of wealth are thought to cause illness, which in turn can be remedied by giving a feast, indicates the anxiety that attends the accumulation of wealth, because it means that the individual

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has a strong awareness of the power of other people's envy. Hence the 556
giving of a feast, by satisfying their oral appetites, diminishes the envy. 574
It is this remedy which tells us the origin of the whole insecurity feel- 578
ing. The remedy serves as an antidote to the envy of others, which the
wealthy person fears. This probably is also the source of the necessity for 578
evening things up—a compulsive trait probably derived from the ne- 426
cessity of sharing with hungry siblings. In actual practice the whole
prestige economy in Alor is one in which the currencies are so dis-
tributed that continual "squeeze" can be applied through financial
obligations.

The uses of this financial system are largely to channelize the enor-
mous amount of intrasocial hostility, and it takes much of the brunt off
all the other methods. The fear of exercising overt aggression in the 155
form of striking, killing, or even using magic is likewise traceable to
the faulty ego development in childhood. It is an error to regard ag-
gression purely as a form of reaction to frustration. In order to react
to frustration with aggression a high degree of effective organization
is necessary. In the Alorese child this organization fails to take place.
It is to be remembered that the tantrum is the expression par excellence
of the childhood frustration, and this is characterized chiefly by its lack
of organization. It is, so to speak, a spinal discharge and not one di-
rected by the higher centers. As was noted before in the discussion of
the relations of men toward women, the inability to be aggressive to-
ward an object that injures you must lead eventually not only to a fear
of the object but also to an inner feeling of paralysis. The control over
aggression is certainly not due to any superego interference. It is due
purely to an ego defect; they do not know how to organize their ag-
gression. In other words, the fact that overt aggression so rarely appears
in this society is merely a late consequence of a situation that began in
childhood and which there showed itself in the hopeless futility of get-
ting any response by this method. Even verbal aggressions, which are
given limited scope, are by no means employed by everyone. Unre-
strained aggression becomes a form of expression only in the insane and
in some of the jealous quarrels among women.

RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

What is distinctive about Alorese ideas and techniques for dealing 776
with the supernatural is their negative features. There is no elabora-
tion of either a supreme being or of a culture hero in their mythology.

In their practical religion there is the general framework of a family 769
cult, which, however, lacks precision. The dead are not to be placated

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Chapter 18

Conclusions to the Autobiographies

BY ABRAM KARDINER

157 ONE might well ask, after perusal of the autobiographies of the four men, whether the concept of basic personality structure is validated by these studies. The concept is essentially a check on *institutions* and not on *character*. What we see in each of the four men is a highly individual character. Each has some features of the basic personality structure, but each is in turn molded by the specific factors in his individual fate.

155 Institutions are of interest to us in the study of personality because they define specific goals of behavior. If we consider one institutionalized set of behavior patterns in Alor, we can track down some interesting connections in a continuous cycle. Maternal neglect is caused in this culture by two circumstances—the economic duties of the mother and the attitude of the mother toward the child predicated by her own experience with her own mother. Suppose we assume that occasionally a mother will be kind; how much will this kindness register on the child as long as the mother must take care of the fields? The child does not know the urgency of her tasks. Therefore, the impression of a frustrating mother is created irrespective of her emotional attitude toward the child. Moreover, even where maternal care is in itself good, so many other aspects of ego development are stifled in childhood by other affiliated institutions. Rilpada is a case in point; in spite of good maternal care he nevertheless developed severe inhibitions toward women.

157 In short, the autobiographies show us the variations in individual character; but they are all related to the basic personality structure, which is a commentary on the institutions. Characters such as Mangma, Rilpada, and Fantan can be found in any society; but the specific determinants of these characters are to be found in the circumstances under which the personality structure is formed, and in this the institutional set-up plays a signal role.

155 We can use most profitably the autobiographies of four men and one woman for a comparison with the basic personality structure. In Tilapada we find poor maternal care culminating in a rejection of the feminine role and the idealization of masculine pursuits by way of identification with her elder brother. This masculinity is on the side of self-assertion, a resentment against the hard work and unrelenting responsibility of the woman's role. The acceptance of the feminine role

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in this culture seems to be decidedly on the masochistic side, and this may account for the blocking in Lemmi and Kolangkaliets, in neither of whom masculine strivings are present. The advantages of the woman over the man may not be appreciated by her, being lost in her incessant responsibilities and hard labor. Likewise the fact that the culture pivots around the woman may be lost on her, since it is obscured by the apparent advantages of the male.

There is much more to learn from a comparison of the four men. As regards their relations toward the ethnographer, they all show a passive longing that includes the anticipation of being frustrated and the effort to take from her by force. The absence of this attitude among the women and the ethnographer's observations both tend to confirm the existence of this feature in the male basic personality structure.

On the score of parental care the four males furnish the most striking contrasts. The influence on character structure is in each case decisive. Mangrua is the most typical, and his character corresponds to the basic personality structure. Ritpada shows a variation which is atypical. His maternal care was good, but the influence of a powerful father was decisive for his development. No sooner is the strong father introduced than we get passivity and strong superego formation. Inhibitions toward women are determined more on this score than derived from their relationships to the mother. The exaggeration of meekness and educability and the desire to emulate his father determine his career as a seer but add the embellishment of being a "good boy." In Fantan the balance between the influence of the parents is well kept, so that he emerges with the strongest character formation, devoid of inhibitions toward women. Comparatively good parental care led to strong ego formation. In Maielaka, however, the departure of his father at eight left Maielaka with a constant longing for him, which is eventually consummated in his relation to supernatural beings and in his severe inhibitions toward women. The two seers had, therefore, a similar development; both are very passive in relation to the father, and both are inhibited toward women.

All the men are equally envious and greedy; all have an extraordinary sensitivity, which they need to conceal with lies and misrepresentations. With the exception of Fantan all are equally fearful of new enterprise and totally devoid of self-confidence.

In those cases where parental care was good, we find educability and pursuit of the parental ideal. All these men have unsatisfactory relations with women. Mangrua is disillusioned and inhibited; Ritpada more

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157 marry a maternal replica; Malelaka is pushed into an unsatisfactory marriage and is filled with fear and hatred of women; Fantan is still very young, but he is on his way to as many marriages as he can afford. Two of these cases, Rilpada and Malelaka, can be called latent homosexuals, a tendency that is safely channeled into their vocations, where it is commemorated in their relationship to supernatural beings.

On the side of affectivity they all differ from the women. But the men are alike in that none of them makes a satisfactory affective relationship with anyone. They are all dominated by greed, resentment, and jealousy, and none of them has the necessary emotional equipment to be a good parent. Fantan is a possible exception.

155 The development of these four men differs chiefly because of differences in paternal care. The case of Rilpada is the most striking. His father was decidedly atypical, having risen from slave status by dint of great pugnacity. The effect on Rilpada was crushing, and he in turn denies himself the opportunity to become a parent. Thus the cycle continues.

In short, it can be seen from these autobiographies that the character structure is strikingly influenced by at least one variable—the differences in paternal care. The roles of the mothers in all four instances run more closely parallel. The differences are supplied by the fathers.

157 181 A second question emerges from the perusal of these autobiographies: What kind of institutions can be utilized by individuals having this basic personality structure? In this connection, we must note a general lack of interest in altering or idealizing the environment and an absence of enterprise and artistic creation. Interest in the outer world is lacking. This would seem to follow from the poor maternal care. The route by which this result is reached is somewhat circuitous. Bad nurture means that the interest of the individual remains focused on human objects; he never ceases making demands on them. Instead he remains fixated on the frustrating objects, which results in short-circuiting all resources. He cannot take any interest in mastery, either in applying it to human needs or in fixing the enjoyment of it in permanent artistic forms. The initial confidence in mastery is lacking.

157 182 183 A second result of this basic personality structure is the necessity to select for stress or to create institutions that will prevent the entire society from falling apart. This society is anarchic enough, and the absence of a few barricades here and there would result in its collapse. These defenses are to be found in the general fear of aggression, the ego being too feeble to tolerate it. A second factor lies in venting the co-

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with the best will in the world, can never have more than a superficial insight into peoples of an alien culture.[1]

Lastly, there is so far no very definite knowledge of what ego mechanisms will be employed by the individual in reacting to frustrations associated with different kinds of disciplines and discipliners. However, from the psychoanalysts and the psychiatrists there is a growing insight into personality processes like projection, introjection, sublimation, and so on. I assume these processes to be universal to mankind, although I should expect variations in weighting from culture to culture.[2]

The procedure, therefore, is to consider a basic physiological tension, see how it is acted upon by disciplines of childhood, what repetitions it finds in a variety of contexts and how it is crystallized by (or into) institutional behavior through those personality mechanisms I have assumed to be universal to mankind.

Hunger, as one of the basic and obvious tensions of human beings, everywhere subject to delayed, redirected, and elaborated gratifications, suggests itself as a point of departure for testing the procedure outlined above. The people used for this purpose are the Atimelang, who belong to a cluster of five mountain villages on the island of Alor in the Netherlands East Indies.[3]

The experiences of the Atimelang child with hunger and food are to be considered first. Immediately after birth the mother takes the child in her arms and offers it the breast to suckle at will. From four to six days after birth the mother remains in the house with the infant rather constantly in her arms. When the umbilical cord has dried and dropped off, the mother and child leave the house for the first time and from then onward the child is offered in addition to its mother's milk many different kinds of premasticated foods and vegetable gruels. Any refusal of the child to nurse freely and frequently when opportunity offers during this first period of life is considered a serious symptom of ill health and gives rise to considerable concern in parents. After the first week the child is given adult diet as fast as it will take it, and a child of about eighteen months can often be seen at a feast alternately nursing and sucking a cube of boiled pork fat.

Since, however, women are primarily responsible for garden work and the subsistence economy of the Atimelangers, they return to regular field work often ten days to two weeks after the birth of a child. It is not customary for the mother to work with the child on her back or even near her, as it is in some societies, so the infant is left at home in the care of some kin, usually the father or older sibling. There is great variation in solicitude and effectiveness of feeding care received by infants from these substitute mothers. Also some wom-

[1] I am indebted to Dr A. Kardiner and some of his colleagues for their insistence on the need of repetition in many contexts to set certain personality trends.

[2] For a discussion of these mechanisms see Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (London, 1936).

[3] The material used in this article was collected by the writer during eighteen months of residence on the island of Alor, extending from January 1938 through June 1939. Acknowledgments are gratefully made to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University and to Dr A. Kardiner who made this work possible.

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF5 Alor OF5

854 853 155 en have greater responsibilities than others in the number they must provide for and are therefore more pressed by field work. On the other hand some women may have given birth during the middle of the dry season when labor in the fields is slack. Still others may be lazy about gardening. As a result some infants receive more care and food during the first months of life. If an infant is left in the hands of a father or sibling, it is going to be fairly hungry part of that time. The person caring for the child may give it gruel or premasticated food more or less conscientiously, but to judge from the frequency with which infants spew out such nourishment, one may suggest that such feeding is not very effective or satisfactory. One repeatedly sees infants trying to nurse at the breast of a father or immature sibling only to be pushed away with an attitude of mild embarrassment.

857 853 854 155 Rilpoda told an anecdote of his childhood which reveals both the frustration infants may suffer from this type of feeding as well as the older sibling's frequent resentment of the role of nurse maid.

> Once mother and I were living in a field house near our gardens. She told me to carry Senmani [younger brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to come and nurse him but she wouldn't. So I took Senmani, laid him down on a mat in the house and ran off to Polafeng. There from the ridge I shouted, "Mother, your child lies in the house. If you want to care for it, good. If you don't want to, that is also good. I am going to Atimelang to play."

The point to be made is that even during infancy, when children are quite generally delighted-in, and when they are rarely out of someone's arms, or at least someone's carrying shawl, gratification of hunger is frequently a disappointing experience. Feeding is irregular; intervals between nursing are so long that acute hunger may arise with either no means of gratifying it or gratification is offered in foods obviously less satisfactory than that which the mother offers. When the mother is home and not too busy, she will offer the child the breast whenever it is restless. However, I never heard any woman speak of the pleasure of nursing, which probably means no more than that the culture has not maximized this particular physical pleasure. Women, when asked, did generally say that they preferred child bearing to intercourse but almost invariably added, "Because children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said that they did not wish any more children because feeding them meant so much work. Economic organization, therefore, acts directly upon attitudes toward children and conditions the child's earliest experiences in respect to food in this society.

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853 854 155 In Atimelang, therefore, the hunger tension of infants is not maximally met as in some societies where children are constantly in contact with their mothers and where the pattern of nursing is a consciously fostered gratification of both mother and child.

A still more serious feeding problem may arise when the child begins to walk, approximately between the thirteenth and eighteenth months. By the time it can manage to get about alone, it is left to play near the house or on the dance place in the center of the village.

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF5 Alor OF5

An older sibling, real or classificatory, or an old woman may be near and will care for a whole group of children in a desultory fashion but no one is responsible for feeding the child and no one is greatly incommoded by his crying. When the mother goes off to work, the child is left from about eight in the morning until five in the afternoon without regular provision of food. This does not mean that he is left entirely without food, but that all he gets during that time may be odd bits an older child cedes more or less willingly and generously to him when he begs for it. Again, of course, there is marked variation in children's experiences during this period. They may have a solicitous older sister who can be spared from field work and who will provide relatively good care. There may be a grandmother who works less hard and frequently in the gardens. But, in any case, after the child learns to walk, his frustrations with respect to hunger are increased, and simultaneously he loses the constant handling and support he had during the first stage of life in the carrying shawl. That the acquisition of his first skill in the independent mastery of the outer world, i.e. walking, should be associated with two severe deprivations may well have larger personality repercussions in the realm of ego development than there is space to consider in this paper.

To add to the strain of this period and to reinforce it further, the weaning of the child may be hastened at this time because another sibling is expected. Rarely does one see a child of three or four still nursing. Although weaning is done simply by pushing the child away gently or placing the breast beyond its reach, there is no doubt that difficulties accumulate at this stage of development. Anal training, walking, and talking have not yet been deliberately instituted. They are allowed to take their own course. In other words, the child has acquired few skills during the first two or three years of life. Those which he has acquired have been by means of restrictive or absorptive disciplines. It is not surprising that this is the time par excellence of temper tantrums. These continue, as might be expected, with marked individual variation up to the ages of five to eight. Adult reactions to childrens' tantrums are characterized by great inconsistency. One day a mother will ignore the child; the next she may be irritated and strike it; on still another occasion she may deceive it into thinking she is not deserting it, only to slip away when the child has been diverted; or on still other occasions, especially at night, the child may be threatened with the local bogy-man who, incidentally, is not a very fearsome figure. In addition then to their inconsistency, all active disciplines are of the restrictive type. I have never seen a mother promise a child a reward for being good and then keep her promise.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties of the persons on whom the child depends for its gratifications is found in a series of statements contained in Tilapada's autobiography. She tells of caring for a younger sister called Maliemai.

> On the way [to the fields] Maliemai cried a lot, so I put her down and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her and we went on when she was quiet. . . . When Maliemai was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I were not angry with her, I would take her along with me to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the small ones. She was always crying. She cried to be fed; she cried to go places. I hit her on the head with my knuckles and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry.

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF5 Alor OF5

155 The inconsistent and restrictive quality of discipline which pervades the child's life
152 might well be expected to breed in it a sense of insecurity and suspicious distrust. It has at
865 its disposal only one weapon with which to meet frustration and that is rage. The alternative idea of being good in order to gain one's ends is not presented to the child. But that rage is an ineffectual weapon is learned at very latest during the first decade of life.

155 While the child is discovering the futility of protest, he is also discovering his own re-
868 sources. He may expect his mother to prepare a morning meal at about seven o'clock and an-
866 other at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself. He learns this from five or six onward in the fluid play groups of free roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot. A variety of insects usu-
249 ally spurned by adults can be found. In the fields near the village are mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and squash. They can be eaten raw or easily cooked. As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children or their playmates, but if the raiding is too constant or if the crop is scarce, children may be scolded for it. Such objections are most apt to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their labor might be expected and is not forthcoming. There are several anecdotes of reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and half-grown son came to blows over the matter. But an additional factor in adult objections to children using garden crops too freely is that it
155 may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma, in his autobiography, gives
578 several such anecdotes, one of which is quoted below.
866
855 Manimale said, "Let us go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." My mother and father were away and I was hungry. For a month we played together going every day to dig sweet potatoes. But his mother was angry because we went to her garden to dig them. So after that first day we always went to my garden to dig them. Then my potatoes were finished. I was angry because we always went to my garden. I said to him, "You have lots of potatoes but we only went once to your garden and your mother was angry. Now you have many and you can't come to dig mine any more." I splashed water on him. Manimale said we would not play together any more.

Parental objections also pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. The whole system of feeding reinforces one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and fear of theft.

155 During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When an
574 adult man visits a house in which a woman is at home, it is customary to set a calabash of
857 food before him and any little boys who are about are invited to join him. Little boys very
855 soon learn to attach themselves to any man who seems to be setting out on a "business" trip and in this way undoubtedly learn a great deal of the role expected of them as adults. Hunger is a motivation which leads to the acquisition of adult male skills. Little girls are not fed on these occasions, except rarely when they pick up a bit of food on the side while it is being prepared. There are still other sources of food available to small boys. During feasts those who help with the butchering are given the entrails or other less desirable bits of the pig to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which several boys assist a grown man or two, is another

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source of food. The rats are often roasted on the spot, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less choice portions of the kill. In any event the day's food is as precariously and inconsistently procured as discipline is administered. Further, the food secured is the less choice kind which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child, the feeling of being undervalued.

As compared with this free play group period for boys, there is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither as long nor as free. They are more closely attached to their mothers, have more rigorous training in their adult role as providers for the family. They go out to work in the fields with their mothers and have therefor more regular access to food. I know of no cases in which little girls have been accused of pilfering from gardens, whereas such charges give rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. On the other hand a girl does not have the guest privilege of the small boy. She gets no tidbits during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to notice her on the edge of the group and gives her a bit of meat. Similarly, the meat at feasts is always distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their household. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons, but not for themselves or their daughters. Since food is taken home and eaten there, the women naturally get a share, but only as dependents of men. Also, since meat is eaten only in connection with a feast and is definitely a "treat," it becomes set in the children's minds as a symbol of masculine prestige. This coincides with theories of property which grant men the ownership of all flesh food as opposed to women who own the vegetable foods. The system of meat distribution at feasts helps to reinforce early in life and on a very basic level the role of masculine prestige in the culture. It is not that men are the providers; in fact they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for; yet they are the purveyors of a delicacy.

The girl, then is set during the preadolescent years in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle which she will follow all her life. Further, she has more systematic and deliberate training than boys in the role of adult existence. There is no sharp break in her life except the change of residence at marriage. It is significant that only after marriage is she allowed to make, independently of her mother, a food contribution to a feast. Public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

Boys find themselves undervalued in comparison to men. Girls are valued in much the same terms as the adult women. Their role will always be somewhat underprivileged, but at least they do not experience the same marked discrepancy between childhood and the adult role expected of them as the boys do. The adolescent boy has a sudden adjustment to make and there are no crisis rites, no initiation ceremonies to help him. His change is not institutionalized or dramatized, and certainly he gets no direct education in it. At about fifteen he begins to ponder the purchase of a wife and that means entering upon the whole complex financial game which is the man's chief labor and honorific occupation. In the course of a few months he drifts away from the play groups, becomes a much more solitary figure, and interestingly enough often insists at this time on a midday meal, even if he must cook for himself.

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Three meals a day is the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a status symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences probably helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually conscious and valued in the culture. When older men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

> Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a precarious and mistrustful one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system acts to stabilize marriages, Alorese average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the hunger experience of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy this basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so placated. Individual and village tutelary spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of ancestors who have cultivated a field, wealth-bringing supernaturals, are all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and purely symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or *mokos*[4] must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

[4] Metal kettle drums used as currency.

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a few people who ignore the theory and plant extra corn fields or even occasional rice fields during "rat years." Yet the social fiction seems almost a rationalization of basic food attitudes in the individual. It appears to be almost an expression of infantile deprivation and helplessness. However, it is only with the utmost caution that I would suggest in any particular case that individual psychology is the direct source of an institutionalized form.

Theft and fear of theft are ramified phenomena whose implications extend beyond their application to food, but the most common type of theft is from gardens. This may be explained on two bases: one is the early theft habits of foraging play groups of boys; the other is that food is one of the few types of property which cannot be absolutely identified and which can be used without much fear of detection. For these reasons, perhaps, one sees the use of curses against theft erected most frequently in fields. These curses, made by specialists, are bamboo poles into whose cleft top are inserted the necessary combinations of magical objects. They are erected in fields where theft has occurred or where the owner fears such an occurrence. Once there, they are supposed to work automatically. A thief would develop leprosy or some other fatal or debilitating illness, and even the owner should call the specialist to remove the curse before harvesting the field. Although these curses are widely used, they seem actually to engender very little fear among most people. Certainly they in no way effectively stop pilfering. Many people are more realistic in the face of depredations and keep armed guard on their fields. A thief caught in the act runs the risk not only of having to pay a fine but also of being shot.

Another important food attitude is shown by the limited range of generosity in distributing it. An occasional guest is fed, but soon enough anyone who is obviously sponging is no longer asked to eat. In case a family runs short of corn or rice it has to buy or borrow from those who may have a surplus. But if food is borrowed, it is at rates of interest running as high as one hundred percent. This holds even between brothers. Thus Panseni wanted a hundred-ear corn bundle. He got it from his brother but had to repay it at harvest time with two corn bundles of the same size. Even feasts, which at first blush appear to be generous food distributions, are far from lavish in actuality. Each female guest brings to the feast a contribution of food. Everything brought by guests is pooled with the hosts' contributions and then redistributed so that women may carry back home but little more than they brought in the first place. Of course they do receive meat in addition, but most often the meat consists of only three or four cubes of boiled pork about two inches square. However, the quantities displayed are considerable and the hosts derive satisfaction therefrom.

I have been concerned with describing a series of childhood experiences and a series of institutionalized adult food attitudes. The experiences of individual children with respect to hunger gratifications and disciplines vary greatly; it is to be expected, therefore, that in adults these cultural attitudes toward food will vary in "the depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." Mangma began his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, whereas Tilapada, who was the same age and of the same village, began the story of her childhood with quarrels between herself and other children.

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One man is conscientious and regular in making food sacrifices to his familiar spirits; another neglects them until illness indicates that he has angered his tutelaries. I have been concerned not with an attempt to uniformize personality among Atimelangers but with an attempt to show how individual childhood experiences with respect to hunger find constant outlets in institutionalized fields which reinforce early socialization and which persons may then invest with greater or lesser emotional energy.

Also, one must be careful not to use such nexi as exclusive causal sequences. I do not believe that the childhood food experiences of the Atimelangers have given rise to the system of sacrifice. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread Indonesian custom. I would suggest, however, that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice in Alor as long as its individual symbolic value can be so high. For example, a child who has learned that the gratification of hunger is a precarious and uncertain thing may well become an adult who shows obsessional attitudes toward the waste of food, especially if he sees adults who already reveal these attitudes. He has learned as a child that food is hard to get, that it can be stolen, and he has had no positive training in being generous with it. In fact, the whole pattern of discipline has been weighted on the restrictive rather than permissive side. All these individual experiences are reinforced by being reflected in adult behaviors (absorptive disciplines) and thereby become stable complexes that may have little relation to the reality of subsistence economy.

To avoid the possibility of simplistic interpretations, it must be stressed again that no single tension like hunger and the habits associated with its gratification will explain either the totality of the culture or the dominant and stressed personality traits of its bearers. It will be only by examining the whole variety of such individual life experiences and searching for the formalized and unformalized cultural correlates that any progress will be made, not only in defining more sharply the interaction of personality and culture, but also in elucidating the stability of attitudes and value systems. Institutions which may be invested with high emotional value because of patterns in child training are not the ones which can be lightly legislated out of existence. To eliminate such institutions without altering standardized methods of education, may well produce serious social and personal dislocations. The implications of these statements, if true, cannot be ignored by colonial administrators and legislators. It is possible that when we understand better our own culture we shall have learned that basic social changes of a non-disruptive nature must be anticipated in the early and intimate conditioning of children.

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